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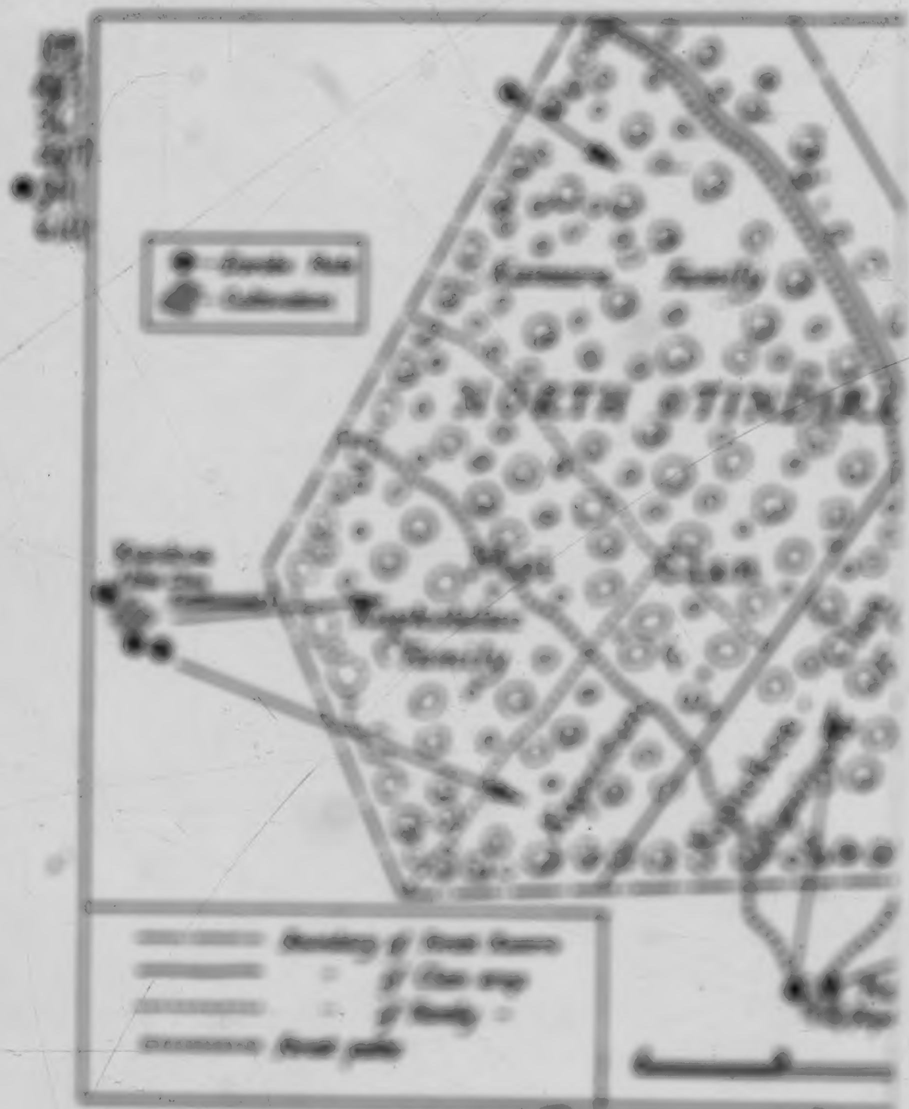

[p. 56.]

[illegible]

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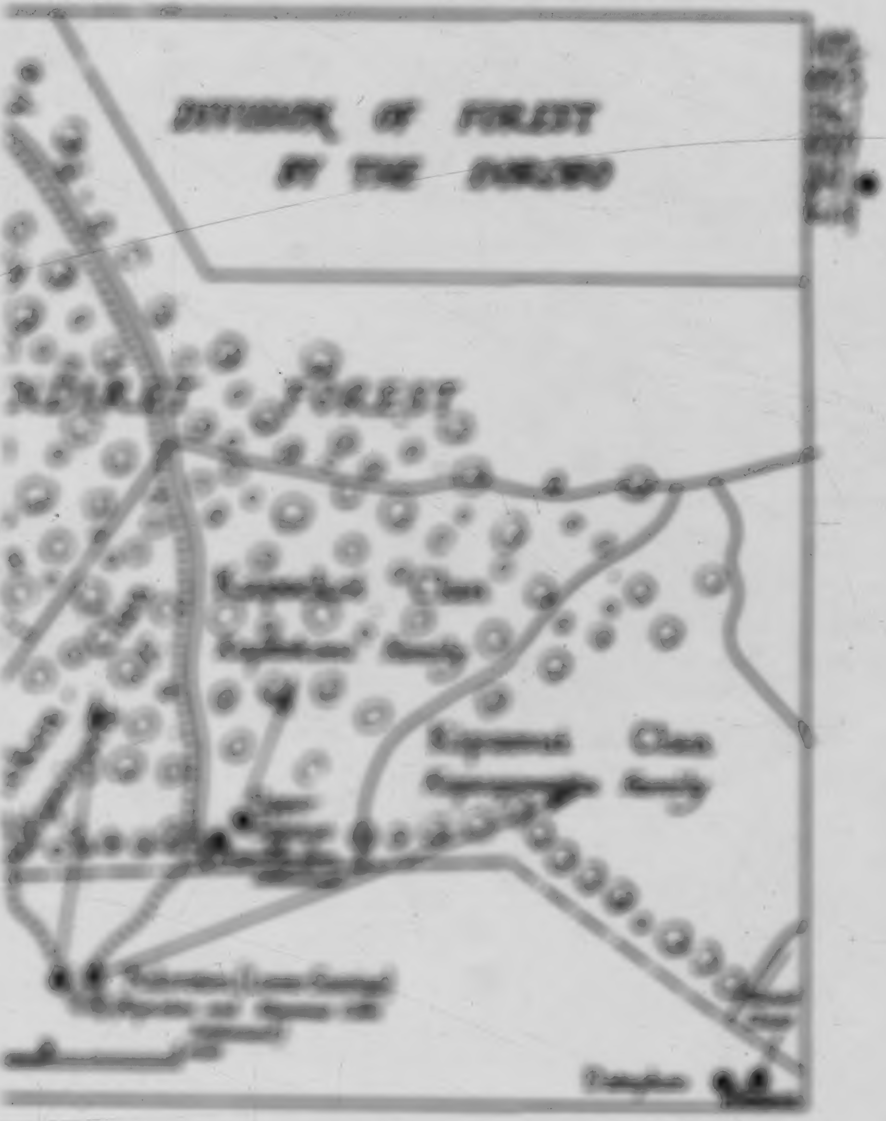
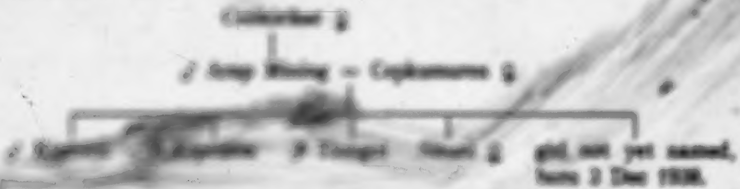


[p. 67]

helps his wife to bring up his children, continuing her claim on him in affection which outlasts childhood into old age.

My chief friend and informant among the Dorobo, Kimaqo arap Mising, lived, during the period of my field-work, at Kipsikon, with his mother Cesikirkat, and his family consisted of the following:


Cesikirkat ♀
♂ Arap Mising = Cepkemaro ♀
♂ [illegible] ♂ [illegible] ♂ [illegible] Situati ♀
girl not yet named, born 2 Dec 1938.

In July 1938 he was living in a flat-topped hut in the middle of his section of the settlement; but by December of the same year he had moved to a new hut with a pointed roof outside the shamba. His mother's hut was about 200 yards away at the other end of the shamba. His three boys (all [illegible], he himself being a Tyongi) ranged from about four years old upwards, and Situati, the elder girl, was about seven. At this time he slept in the back part of the hut, the soton, where his goats are kept at night, and his wife slept with the children in the front part, the koima. This was because she was suckling a baby. Strictly, Arap Mising should have gone to sleep in another hut, but since this was not possible for several reasons, the wall dividing the soton from the koima was allowed to make the soton count as a separate hut (the original type of Dorobo hut has no partitions at all).

One day I arrived rather early and found that Cepkemaro had gone across the valley to get a new water-pot, leaving Arap Mising in charge of the children. Situati looked after the baby, but still he found his responsibilities rather a heavy burden, and was glad when his wife returned a little before noon. Cepkemaro fed the baby, sent the children indoors to rest, and went down to the river to wash. At this hour, when there is no particular work to be done, the older people sleep. On some days Cesikirkat comes to Arap Mising's shamba to help with the cultivation; Cepkemaro normally works there too, but not every day while the baby is so young. When she does go, Arap Mising goes with her, and the baby is left with Situati. But the shamba is not so far away that Cepkemaro cannot hear the children if anything goes wrong.

The Dorobo elementary family might thus seem to be independent and self-contained. But it is not so really, and other relatives have a share in the upbringing of the children, not in spite of the parents' authority, but in support of it, and the relative who must be considered next to the parents from the Dorobo point of view is the father's brother, papa, who often lives in the same settlement, or if not, only a short distance away. This person, especially when he is an elder brother, has a position of authority over his brother's children at least equal to that of their father. His wife, a classi-

486 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey.
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared antelope skin.
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared antelope skin.
2 baskets of cereal seed for 1 basket (honey).
1/- worth of trade beads for 1 gourd full of honey.

[804] The bag used as a measure for honey is the smaller size of [illegible], measuring 7 or 8 ins. by 6 ½ or 7 ins. The gourd is about 10 ins. long. The large pot stands about 20 ins. high, the small, about 10 ins., and the large antelope skin is usually a bushbuck, the small one a duiker.

487 437 [443] [197] There are no special market places or places of exchange. The Dorobo go to the nearest smith or potter and make a bargain, returning later with the exchange equivalent to collect the goods. There is no language difficulty in these transactions, for the Dorobo language is no more than an easily understood dialect of Nandi. Getting iron or pottery means going into the Reserve, but to get seeds, tobacco or beads they need only go to the nearest friendly Nandi who has what they want and is willing to make the exchange. Sometimes plant material of medicinal value (i. e. what they think is medicinal value) is substituted for some of the regular exchange articles, but the above list represents the ordinary practice. When Dorobo have money with which to buy what they want instead of exchanging goods, they have the choice of going to the shops at either Songhor in the south, or else at [illegible] in the Nandi Reserve, where there is a collection of Indian shops. The men do not [562] like their womenfolk to go to these places unescorted, but occasionally some of the bolder ones try to slip away unobserved to [illegible] ; they seldom go to Songhor, as it is in the European area.

476 No human group can exist without some form of co-operation, and even when a man lives alone, as he may have to among the Dorobo, he is not because of that cut off from or unable to share in the activities of his family. Within the family people are interdependent, and in the settlement they help each other. The main activities in which people normally co-operate are four in number : 1. House-building ; 2. Hunting ; 3. Digging earth ; 4. Cultivation. [462] (1) Building huts is women's work, which a man will do if he has no wife, and [224] for which he will get help from a relative or clansfellow. (2) When people hunted game they usually went out in parties, and the kill was shared among [317] them. (3) Digging earth means a journey of anything up to 16 miles round the edge of the forest and into country where nowadays there are strangers, so people find it both safer and more convenient to go in parties, for though they are in no danger of being attacked, their unconquerable shyness demands numbers to give ● [241] confidence. (4) In a family or clan group, though each individual has his own shamba, he will expect both to help and to be helped by the other members.

[276] Together with the spirit of co-operation is the rule of joint consumption. We have already seen how meat is shared according to definite rules ; and among the Dorobo certain other things which are hard to come by must also be shared. The chief of these is tobacco, of which when a man has acquired even a small supply, he is supposed to give some to his father, to his wife's

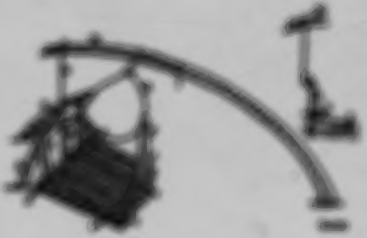


Fig. 6. A Dorobo Trap of Springe. This trap has no "trigger-peg". The animal treads on the platform and by its falling presses it against the upright A, to which bait it is attached, thus releasing the lever and allowing the bent stick B to spring upright and tighten the noose round the neck of the quarry. [illegible]

when an animal treads on it, allowing the lever to slip over the top and thus release the bent stick B.

Hunting parties might be made up by as many as eight men, though I think that probably four or five was a more usual number. A common practice was for half the party to walk along one bank of a stream and the rest along the other bank, so that if there was nothing on one side, those on the other side might be more successful; or if the quarry got across the stream, the men on the other side would be able to deal with it. When a kill was made, all the hunters assembled. The animal was skinned, the meat cut up, and some of it eaten on the spot, either raw, or partly cooked by laying it across a rough wooden framework over a fire. The rest of the meat was divided among them and taken home. In the past days, when meat was plentiful, what was left over was dried and kept either as a reserve or for exchange with the Nandi for utensils and cattle. A stack of dried meat ([illegible]) about 3 ft. square, was sold for about 25 lbs. of grain. Meat is cut into strips ([illegible], plural [illegible]) which are laid out on the drying tray or left over the fire to be smoke-cured after being dried on the roof of a hut or in the fork of a tree. [illegible]

c) Agriculture

Since they can no longer hunt, and present conditions are* not favourable for the acquisition of cattle on a large scale (even if the Dorobo had the means of so doing), the adoption of agriculture has become an economic necessity, and methods, implements, and seed have been obtained from the Nandi. This change from hunting to agriculture has taken place virtually between the years 1927 and 1929. In the first of these years the area cultivated by them was so small as to be negligible; but by the latter year their lives were, as we have seen, to a great deal centred on agriculture. And as with hunting in the old days, so with agriculture to-day, the growing of crops is naturally regulated by the wet and dry seasons and the main divisions of the agricultural year are: [illegible]

January to April: preparation of the land.
April-May: planting.
September: reaping.

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* This refers to the years 1928-29.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Men:	Both:	Women:
Heavy preliminary work	Digging	
Planting	Weeding	Collecting and burning weeds
	Reaping	

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]. The Dorobo

This last matter on the list of predecessors in the occupation [illegible] of the land was held by the tribes of the [illegible] Dorobo. Here again there have been much confusion and lack of definition, and in spite of the continued existence of 'pockets' of so-called Dorobo in many parts of East Africa we find ourselves faced with difficulties if we try to give a synoptic ethnological interpretation to the very numerous facts. Some would lump all the Dorobo together with the other trapping tribes and call them aboriginal hunting people of a Bushmanoid [illegible] type, explaining obvious departures from that type by infiltration in varying amounts of Hamitic and Negro blood. Others (including many Africans) hold that the difference between them and the other tribes is simply one of culture[1], not of origin, that the Dorobo chose or were left behind while the others, due in part to population pressure, moved from the hunting-trapping-gathering stage to that of herding or herding-planting.

[illegible]. Joseph Thomson, in Through Masailand, written in [illegible] in [illegible], gives the following account:

> "This tribe – the Wa-ndorobbo of the Wa-[illegible] – is a small race of people scattered over Masai land who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skilful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andorobbo are to be found only where those animals abound, as for instance

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[1] To the Wakikuyu at the present time [illegible] signifies a Mkikuyu who, while engaging in hunting and trapping, lives in a settled village among the agricultural Wakikuyu, while Dorobo signifies a Mkikuyu (or anybody else) who lives in the forest and takes no part in agriculture.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]